

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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S E C R E T SECTO 15073

NODIS
FOR THE PRESIDENT FROM SECRETARY HAIG
O. 12065: RDS 1 AND 3 12/13/81 (MCMANAWAY, C)
TAGS: OVIP (HAIG, ALEXANDER)
SUBJECT: POLAND

1. (SECRET-ENTIRE TEXT).

2. MR. PRESIDENT:
THE IMPOSITION OF MARTIAL LAW IN POLAND HAS CONFRONTED
US WITH A COMPLEX POLITICAL CHALLENGE THAT WE MUST HANDLE
WITH PRUDENCE AND WITH SKILL. AS YOU KNOW, I AM IN BRUSSELS
AND HAVE DECIDED TO POSTPONE, FOR THE TIME BEING, MY
PLANNED VISIT TO THE MIDDLE EAST AND SOUTH ASIA SO THAT
I CAN MONITOR THE POLISH SITUATION AND STAY IN CLOSE
TOUCH WITH OUR WEST EUROPEAN ALLIES. I HAVE SPOKEN THIS
MORNING WITH MY BRITISH, WEST GERMAN AND FRENCH COLLEAGUES
AND MEMBERS OF OUR STAFFS WILL MEET IN BRUSSELS TO CONFER
LATER TODAY. JOSEPH LUNS, NATO SECRETARY GENERAL, HAS
AGREED TO CALL A MEETING OF NATO POLITICAL DIRECTORS HERE

State Dept. review completed

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TOMORROW.

3. I HAVE BEEN IN TOUCH WITH THE VICE PRESIDENT, CAP WEINBERGER, BILL CLARK AND ADMIRAL NANCE. BILL WILL BE CHAIRING AN INTERDEPARTMENTAL MEETING EARLY TODAY TO REVIEW OUR CONTINGENCY PLANS FOR THE POLISH SITUATION. WHILE WE PREPARE OUR STRATEGY AND MONITOR DEVELOPMENTS, I BELIEVE IT IS IMPORTANT THAT WE CLOSELY COORDINATE OUR PUBLIC STATEMENTS AND MAINTAIN A UNIFIED POSITION WITH OUR ALLIES.

4. INFORMATION ON THE SITUATION IN POLAND IS INCOMPLETE, BUT MY EUROPEAN COLLEAGUES AND I, IN AN INITIAL ASSESSMENT, SEE THREE POSSIBLE OUTCOMES:

FIRST, THE POLISH AUTHORITIES, POSSIBLY WITH SOVIET HELP, MAY HAVE BEEN ABLE TO ORCHESTRATE A SUCCESSFUL "PREMPTIVE STRIKE" AGAINST THE LEADERSHIP OF THE SOLIDARITY MOVEMENT. IF THIS PROVES TO BE THE CASE, THE POLISH AUTHORITIES MAY EXPERIENCE LITTLE TROUBLE IN CONTAINING WHATEVER PUBLIC RESISTANCE TO THE NEW MARTIAL LAW REGIME MAY EMERGE.

SECOND, THE POLISH AUTHORITIES MAY HAVE MISCALCULATED AND PUBLIC RESISTANCE COULD BE STRONGER. THIS COULD LEAD TO WIDESPREAD PROTESTS AND FIGHTING BETWEEN POLISH SECURITY FORCES AND SOLIDARITY SUPPORTERS. THIRD, IF INTERNAL FIGHTING IN POLAND CONTINUED AND GREW OUT OF CONTROL, OUR WORST FEARS COULD BE REALIZED: THE SOVIET ARMY COULD STEP IN.

5. OBVIOUSLY, AT THIS STAGE IT WOULD BE PREMATURE TO REACH A JUDGMENT ON HOW EVENTS WILL TRANSPIRE. FOR THIS REASON I BELIEVE WE SHOULD STEER A "MIDDLE COURSE" ON POLAND -- WORKING WITH OUR ALLIES TO APPLY MORAL PRESSURE ON THE SOVIETS TO DETER MILITARY

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INTERVENTION WHILE GUARDING AGAINST OVERREACTING AND
THUS GIVING THE SOVIETS A PRETEXT FOR GOING IN. THIS WILL
REQUIRE A SPECIAL EFFORT TO MAINTAIN INTERNAL DISCIPLINE,
PARTICULARLY IN RESPECT TO PUBLIC STATEMENTS.

I WILL BE CALLING YOU LATER WITH A FURTHER ASSESSMENT
OF THE CHANGING SITUATION.

HAIG

BT

SECRET